

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

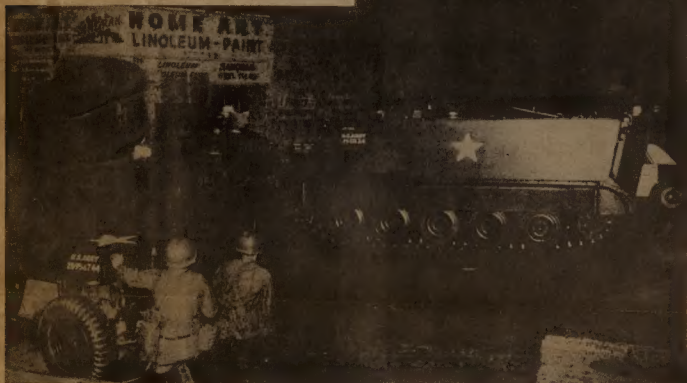
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Newark, USA



Black Power meet hassles

By Robert L. Allen

Guardian staff correspondent

Newark, N.J.

Black people should organize to get their "fair share" of the present U.S. economic and political system. This was the conclusion of most delegates attending the National Conference on Black Power held here July 20 to 23. If that effort fails, the delegates decided, then "massive efforts will be launched to disrupt the economy" and consideration would be given to partitioning the U.S. into "two separate and independent nations."

The 1,100 delegates from 130 organizations, 43 cities and 36 states also passed resolutions strongly supporting racism

congressman Adam Clayton Powell and boxing champion Muhammad Ali. They called for "independent political efforts" in local campaigns, state-wide and national voting blocs, and the establishment of "black draft resistance leagues."

Although the conference was described by the New York Times as evidencing the "radicalization of the moderate," many disgruntled militant delegates felt that the meeting was all too moderate in its basic assumptions. Militants questioned whether it is possible for black people to achieve equality in American society as it is now structured.

A manual distributed by conference organizers to workshop leaders opened with the statement: "Ethnic groups in

America have developed their own solidarity as a basic approach toward entry into the American mainstream." While not disputing the need for solidarity, one youthful delegate declared that "we don't want to enter America's polluted, dirty mainstream but to carve out an altogether new river." An older delegate said: "I don't want to be exploited by a black man any more than I want to be exploited by a white man. You've got to change the whole system."

This dispute over basic premises of the black power movement permeated many workshop meetings. Some delegates spoke of "filling the gaps in the present system" and "pumping the system for all it's worth." Others denounced capi-

talism and urged black people to "burn it all down and create something new." "Something new" was left undefined.

Typical delegate attitudes were voiced in the youth workshop:

"Black youth today," said a man in African garb, "can't see how they're going to get their share of the system and so their mood is to burn it down."

"I want to burn the system down," responded a young woman, "but not in such a way as to hurt black people. I happen to think that co-ops are the best way to put a big boot to chunks [the white man's system]."

"I think capitalism is the most successful system although it's the youngest,"

(Continued from Page 6)

But revolt stirs pride, unity

By William A. Price

Guardian staff correspondent

Newark, N.J.

"I just had goddam had it!" This is the way one erstwhile Newark anti-poverty worker explained the accumulated frustrations of years and especially of recent months that had brought him close to violence. He expressed the mood of thousands of blacks in Newark who now view the city as a rebellion—and they accept no other description for it—with pride, as a turning point in Newark history.

"People are just not afraid any more,"

said Jesse Allen, at a GUARDIAN sponsored round-table of black militants. "They're determined to get what they want even if they have to give up their lives for it."

Do people feel defeated by the "massive retaliation" by Newark and state police and the National Guard, an attack which left 24 blacks dead—or do they feel stronger?

Betty Moss answered: "They're stronger now. People stop you on the street and talk to you and say, 'soul sister, soul brother—you get home from talking so much, it's really beautiful.'"

Allen, chairman both of the Newark Community Union Project and the Peoples Action Group (Area Board Three of the city's anti-poverty program), pinpointed the basic cause of the ghetto uprising. The whites in control kept it Newark, the state's industrial center, as a money-making machine for "them," Allen said. "They don't give a damn" about bettering conditions in the ghetto, he added, "because they don't want any change and they know that day by day the whites are moving out to the suburbs."

Run down the list of grievances that

accumulated in Newark, they are the same as any other ghetto: joblessness, police brutality, antiquated schools and teaching methods, over-exploitation by slumlords and white store-owners, inadequate health and recreational facilities, political powerlessness.

But two things were happening in Newark which distinguished it from other ghettos. First, the ethnic population ratio has changed rapidly so that Newark is estimated now to be approximately 85% non-white (the only such major U.S. city except Washington, D.C.). And second, without fanfare, effective neighborhood organizing began long before the rebellion broke out.

One such project was NCUU, started

(Continued on Page 8)

L.A. cops vs. 'white middles'

By Grace E. Simons

Los Angeles

THE POLICE attack here June 23 on 15,000 pickets petitioning President Johnson to end the war in Vietnam has set off a barrage of protests against police brutality unprecedented in Los Angeles.

Protests in the past against clubbings and beatings at the hands of police have come primarily from members of minority groups. This time the uproar comes from middle-class whites who themselves felt the club and experienced the fear and anger that are ever present in the ghetto.

"How we know what it's like in Watts," was a typical comment.

No evidence has been produced to support official claims that the marchers initiated violent action and that a "riot" took place. Voluminous first-hand reports over the airwaves, in the press and in some 500 signed statements collected by the American Civil Liberties Union lead to the opposite conclusion—that the violence was perpetrated by police against unarmed, peaceful citizens.

The record of arrests points in the same direction. Almost all of the 45 arrests involved nonresistant demonstrators from failure to obey an order to disperse. Two felony arrests were made a mile away and an hour-and-a-half before police launched their full-scale attack.

Police had practiced

The main incident occurred outside the Century Plaza Hotel in West Hollywood.

After a flower-people Democratic fundraising dinner, some 75 yards of pavement and a wall of helmeted, armed police separated the demonstrators from the well-guarded hotel entrance. A half hour after police broadcast a warning that "this is an illegal assembly," tear-gas canisters, in driving wind formation, struck the center of the tightly packed crowd.

For two weeks police had practiced riot control in preparation for the demonstration. There was no riot, but the well rehearsed plan was put into operation.

Police had claimed they received "intelligence" that the demonstrators planned to "rush" the hotel, fire off smoke bombs and even poison the hotel's water supply. No one was arrested for trying to "rush" the hotel. Police found neither smoke bombs nor poison. Irving Scharoff, chairman of the sponsoring Peace Action Council, declared: "Not a single member of our peace group committed a violent or provocative act."

If the intent of the attack was to splinter and discredit the growing anti-



"NOW WE KNOW WHAT IT'S LIKE IN WATTS"
L.A. 'Police Riot' Against Peaceful Demonstrators Draws Protest

war movement, it failed. There have been numerous protest meetings and marches since June 23 — at the City Center (where a spokesman was denied the floor and three were dragged bodily from the crowd), at the First Unitarian Church (3,000 attended); at police headquarters, where some 2,000 pickets, mostly young, circled the building for more than an hour.

Another demonstration is set for Aug. 6, Hiroshima Day, at which Dr. Lucas Pauling, Nobel Peace Prize winner, will address a mass rally in Inglewood Park. The rally will follow a two-mile march down Wilshire Boulevard in opposition to use of the atom bomb and to con-

tinued U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

PAC, sponsor of the Hiroshima Day event, reports that to the past month 10 additional organizations have become associated with its anti-war drive. This brings the number of cooperating organizations to 80, none of whom have defected since the June 23 police attack.

"What is really on trial," Hugh Marston, ACLU attorney, told newsmen July 18, "is the right to dissent in the United States and the right to petition the President for a redress of grievances."

Marston says just prior to the opening of the trial of Mrs. Judith E. Bokor, 23, a high school teacher among those arrested June 23. The first of the 43 cases to go on trial, Mrs. Bokor's began when three of the six misdemeanor charges against her were dismissed. Remaining charges are unlawful assembly, failure to disperse and interfering with a police officer (she interposed her body between that of her husband and a police club).

The first felony case was set for July 25 in Santa Monica. Janet King, 21, was accused of assault and battery on two police officers with a picket stick when the march was just getting under way. Miss King was clubbed by police and claims that she was denied medical attention during the two and a half days she was in jail awaiting the posting of \$1,100 bail.

Not everyone condemned the police. The new police chief, for whom the demonstration was his first major test, had high praise for his men. Said Chief Thomas Roddin: "We stood up just tremendous. You fellows showed great deal of patience. I think the message is out. Our city is not going to give in to law-breakers. . . . It was a beautiful plan and well executed. More than 10 men reportedly were hospitalized following the 'well executed' plan."

Mayor Samuel Yorty thanked the police officers "for making the President's case an enjoyable and safe one."

The WORLD in MOVEMENT

Mexico arrests 'subversives'

More than 50 persons have been arrested in Mexico City. The government attorneys to tell what it claims is a "subversive" plot. Financial backing for some of those arrested allegedly came from China. They are accused of blasting an army truck on an isolated road in the province of Guerrero in an effort to secure arms. More than 20 tons of books, films and pamphlets have been confiscated in connection with the arrests. The Mexican government was particularly edgy as mass demonstrators to the Latin-American Solidarity Conference, meeting in Havana July 31, sought air passage from Mexico City. The country is the lone Latin-American nation maintaining diplomatic relations with Cuba and has the only regular air route in the hemisphere with Cuba.

Colombian guerrillas vs. army

The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia caused 11 casualties to government troops in two recent encounters near Santa Cecilia in the mountains of the department of Huila. An army spokesman admitted that guerrillas fighting had been stepped up in Huila, Holmira, Cagueta, Quindio, Valle, Cauca and Santander. He said the air force expects to resume its modern tactics, including aerial bombardment, operations and guerrilla warfare.

Public meetings restored

The right to hold public meetings was restored to Venezuelans July 18 by President Raul Leoni as Caracas began celebrating its 400th anniversary. The two other constitutional guarantees suspended after the kidnapping and assassination this year of the foreign minister's brother were not restored. There were the power to search private residences and to make arrests without warrants.

Bolivian guerrillas advance

Guerrilla activities in Bolivia have stepped up during the past few weeks, although some doubts lingered in the news for the debate on their possible leadership by Migs. Ernesto "Gue" Guevara. Towns in southeastern Bolivia along the highway which connects the eastern part of the country with La Paz and other cities in the western highlands have been the major targets of attack. Some sources tell Army casualties at a total of 200. Guerrilla casualties are unknown.

Kyoto students oppose soldiers

Leftist students at Kyoto University, Kyoto, Japan, are leading a nationwide campus movement to ban Japanese military personnel from taking courses in civilian classrooms. The protests are expected to spread to all of the 11 universities and colleges where a total of 100 military personnel have been enrolled in technical and scientific courses. Previous disclosure that educational and research institutions in Japan had accepted military personnel from the U.S. Army brought so much national criticism that the government promised to leave the military out of civilian education by the Ministry of Education.

Tomato rebellion

Tomato growers in southern France rebelled against low market prices by dumping 40 tons of fresh tomatoes into the River Durance. In Paris, farmers estimated the loss at 15-23 cents (U.S.) a kilo (2.2 pounds). The growers were paid two to four cents a kilo.

A political murder?

THE POSSIBILITY of a political murder in the case of George Vlasov, a leader of the Austin, Texas, anti-Vietnam war movement, is being investigated by officials of the National Vietnam Veterans' Council.

Vlasov, 23, was shot in the back the morning of July 23, at a grocery store where he worked part-time. His body was found in a meat freezer. According to a news report from a Dallas radio station police first called it "a political murder" but that evening they announced his death occurred during an armed robbery. Police admitted, however, that \$40 was lost in the till.

The peace activist had received several threats in his life as a result of his well-publicized activities. Just the night before his death he helped organize a chapter of the W.E.B. DuBois Club.

He was a former student at the University of Texas in Austin, where he was a member of Students for a Democratic Society. He was arrested on campus last spring during an anti-war demonstration

while Vice President Humphrey was visiting. The university sought an injunction barring him from campus for "openly and vocally opposing the actions of our government." In his foreign politics. The result was the formation on campus of a free speech movement.

The United Texas Organizations for Peace was meeting in Dallas when the announcement of Vlasov's murder was broadcast. The 400 delegates immediately ended their meeting and went to Austin to press for a full police investigation. Rev. Richard Prendergast, national co-director of Vietnam Summer, flew to Austin from Cambridge that day to confer with local peace groups and police. Several prominent clergymen also have wired Austin police asking for a full report.

Vietnam Summer asks that persons send telegrams to the Austin police chief and chairman of committee investigating a full-scale investigation. Messages of sympathy or contributions should be sent to the victim's widow, Martha Vlasov, c/o Chief Briggs, 506 West 23d St., Austin.

The recent news from Cuba is heartening. For some time government bodies and trade unions have been announcing small but meaningful improvements in the island's living conditions. Local telephone calls can now be made without charge in Havana, the bus fares in the city have been reduced, water is now available without cost in all of Cuba. Taxes have been eliminated

Two staff correspondents, Jane B. McManus and Jack A. Smith will cover the certain-to-be historic first conference of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity on the spot from Havana, Cuba. Their first report, on Cuba's ninth July 25 celebration is expected for next week's issue of the GUARDIAN.

for independent farmers, livestock raisers and fishermen. By 1970, the small country expects to have half a million students, and as many citrus trees as the United States.

Significant is the introduction of a new wage system which eliminates piecework and replaces material with moral incentives in the factories and fields of Cuba. In making the announcement, Jorge Risquet, minister of labor, stated that money serves the function of increasing productivity in a capitalist society, but revolutionary consciousness is essential for greater productivity under socialism. Workers will be paid in accordance with their skills and the number of hours worked, whether they meet production goals or not. These

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victories, and others, will be celebrated in all parts of Cuba on July 26, 9 years after the overthrow of the Batista regime by the revolutionaries led by Fidel Castro and Ernesto "Che" Guevara.

But the realistic Fidelistas who landed with a handful of men on a forbidding Cuban shore and were able to organize, struggle and win hegemony first over small areas of the Sierra Maestra and finally over the whole island, know the struggle does not stop at the water's edge. The main enemy remains U.S. imperialism, whose most essential pasture in the Latin American continent, and which is commended by one means or another to wipe out the Cuban "virus" of revolution. The Cubans think the best defense against the colossus is the sword. The sword of the revolution is other Latin countries. It is also the best defense for the poor and hungry who make up the bulk of Latin America's people.

This places the first Conference of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS) (July 31-Aug. 8) right in the center of the action. Meeting in Havana after the July 26 festivities, the Conference will be attended by the main leaders and representatives of political and guerrilla movements from all parts of Latin America. It

will be an exciting gathering of men who are making history, who are pitting their courage, their knowledge, their love of country and people and their revolutionary understanding against the North American imperialists and their local Latin American comprador agents.

The subject for discussion will be: How best to accomplish the Latin American revolution. The slogan of the OLAAS conference is taken from the Havana Declaration of 1962: "The duty of the revolutionist is to make the revolution." Controversy over the role of political vs. guerrilla movements has been going on for some time, and will no doubt occupy an important place. Unity and cooperation between the movements of the various countries will be a recurrent theme. Debate and analysis will go far into the night as the conscious revolutionary forces of the continent come together to discuss the most important questions for the moment.

The GUARDIAN message to the conference stated, "[Your] struggle for freedom is also ours, for we seek to expose and oppose the forces in our own country which plan, direct and execute the repression of peoples in Latin America and in our own land."

OPINION

The GUARDIAN requests that letters be no longer than 250 words, and space without altering meaning.

"Keep alive . . ."

YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO
I have just finished reading a letter to the **GUARDIAN** printed in the July 6 issue, in which a reader states that he cannot in conscience contribute to the **GUARDIAN**. The reason he gives is his disagreement with Irving Berlin's article, "The Mideast War Solves No Problems."

This is a terrible waste of a good conscience. For that reader to refuse to support the **GUARDIAN**, a force for radical change in general, because he disagrees with its stand on a particular issue, seems to me bad tactics grown of a misdirected desire to support only voices with which he unconditionally agrees.

This is a luxury we, as radicals, cannot allow ourselves in the face of the enemy. We must keep alive every voice that speaks out against the evils of our society; in other words, support the GUARDIAN on the basis of its major stand even while disagreeing with it.

Readers have contributed more than \$1,600 so far in response to an urgent appeal also printed in the July 8 **GUARDIAN**. We are grateful for these generous contributions but must point out that paper is still in crisis and requires support far beyond this amount. You can help, too, to build the new **GUARDIAN**. Use the sub blank, page 41—G.

Armstrong, Bessie Smith too
DOVER, N.J.
One up for the "new" GUARDIAN!
My daughter, age 13½, living in conservative suburbia, picked up the July 23 issue after spotting a picture of the Beatles.

Guffawing, I said, "Now you'll have to read an article in the GUARDIAN to see why the picture is there." She obliged; her first plunge.

as I am reminding you, that Mr. Amade-

father of the young gospelist when he listened to Louis Armstrong and the whole rest of those blues performers including Bessie Smith when he was younger. Father has always been (and so weary, too) a leader in the movement.

The new GUARDIAN is good. In Morris County a warm relationship is developing between the young and older. Please continue to encourage this trend.

Gene S. (Mrs. Leonard) Amada

Hippies and gurus

LOUISVILLE, KY.
I want to disagree with Frank Kofsky about where it's at. The Jefferson Airplane while "trying to revolutionize tomorrow" has been eagerly scabbing against today by hawking white levis.

Actually there is no class contradiction at all in this sort of thing. The hippies and their gurus are the vanguard of the leisure class. They are not the revolution. While the ruling class may be appalled by some of their activities they do not inspire fear. Turn on, tune in, drop out is a slogan advocating withdrawal not conflict.

If the capitalists see that the youth is following this line they will not be greatly concerned over the fate of their system. If an enemy cannot be destroyed it is just as well to neutralize him not that the hippies are in any sense enemies.

While F. Kofsky in writing his column has gotten off to a bad start I look forward to his future explorations of the freak subcultures. Hopefully with greater depth and some effort at a marxist-materialist analysis.

Women ahead

SIoux CITY, IOWA
In the SDS article of July 15th I disagree with Jack Smith's statement that "women in our society are pretty much second class citizens." Women have the wealth which is the economic system and it is wealth which controls the political system.

Bob Fennell

I am a WASP* housewife in the

Quote my husband: "What does the Negro want? It costs the city a lot of money to build those nice housing projects. If they'd only be patient, wait five or ten years, things would be better . . ."

We moved out of Newark twenty-five years ago. The city made it easy for young white families to go to the suburbs—it was a trend and many builders (white) got rich. Like many people who commute to the city to work, my husband probably has never taken a good look at Newark's urban landscape. They've gone from bad to worse: ugly brick warrens, new ghetto rising up around blocks of rubble and strewn land. It reminds one of bombed out city (Patience). And in the meantime were raised our children in the suburbs (white and grown old). And in the dirty streets of Newark there are children everywhere. Where did they hide when the National Guard, riding their heavy equipment, rumbled through the streets yelling at "anything that moves?"

"Criminal!" Governor Hughes says. A mirror of our own shortcomings, it seems to me. This is a violent society, callous about non-palming non-white civilians in Vietnam. Violence is criminal; the governor is right. White America

Readers are encouraged to submit their opinions—from 250 to 400 words—or to suggest other commentary for this column.

has yet to take the first steps in

Criminal! It is criminal that eleven children in one family should lose their mother to the indiscriminate firing of police bullets.

Criminals! I saw drunken white youths careening around Berkeley Heights the night of the Plattsfield riots, shouting "Let's go kill a couple of niggers."

I have worked for years with a Pahr Housing Council in middle-class suburbia trying to make a dent in the wall of bigotry and discrimination. The indifference and intolerance both seem criminal to me. Our organization even tried to build integrated low income housing and ran into the opposition of the whole local political structure. Low income housing in an urban renewal area slated for luxury housing? Impossible! "Why pick on Morristown for that kind of housing? We'd get those Negroes moving out of Newark!"

The New Jersey Division of Civil Rights, appointed by the Governor, drags its heels in processing all complaints, and has been the subject of a critical study by a group from Rutgers. It hasn't improved much. This seems criminal to me.

So maybe the Governor is right.
It is just a question of whose
crime!

Jessie Stuebler
ft. Kemble Lake
Morristown, N.J.

* WASP: white Anglo-Saxon Protestant.

Discussion: The Mideast dispute

By Irving Berlin

THE GUARDIAN has received many letters from readers about the Mideast crisis, the majority critical of its coverage and point of view.

Our June 10 editorial stated, "there now exists a Jewish community of two million" in Israel and "any future consideration of the area must deal with this fact, just as it must deal with the fact of Arab hostility caused by Zionist, Jewish nationalist policies of the successive Israeli governments. Israel can be viable only as part of a Middle East confederation allowing for internal autonomy together with regional economic planning and a national foreign policy." Israel must "ally itself with its neighbors and make anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism and economic development of the region the central focus of national policy."

To better communicate these views we decided to respond to the major questions posed by our readers' letters.

Has not Nasser threatened to destroy Israel?

Unbiased observers tend to view the reckless but essentially empty threats to exterminate Israel as internal propaganda directed to the Cairo radio audience, unsupported by Egypt's actual military preparations. Like the Cairo broadcasts which claimed victories over Israel, so too after Egypt has been defeated, the same sources seem to use as a measure of policy.

Wasn't the closing of the Strait of Tiran a hostile if not warlike act?

According to some experts, Egypt's claim to the Straits of Tiran as territorial waters is justified. (See letter in N.Y. Times, June 11, by Roger Fisher, Prof. of Law, Harvard University). Legitimacy aside, the closing of the strait to Israeli shipping was a consequence of a series of hostile acts taken by both sides. It was a step open to Nasser he apparently believed he could take short of war. The question is whether it was necessary for Israel to regard this particular stop as a cause for war. Important as it may be to the future economic growth of the country, the port of Elath to which the Strait of Tiran leads is not Israel's lifeline. There are more prominent port facilities on her Mediterranean coast. Whether Egypt would stop non-Israeli flag ships from putting in at Elath remained undecided before the Israeli army moved.

Arab liberation

Making the blockade a means best reflected an Israeli decision to seek military solutions to her problem with the Arab countries. This has been the emerging dynamic of Israel's internal political development. Otherwise, she might have requested the plying of UN troops on the Israeli side of the Sinai border when Nasser demanded they be removed from the Egyptian side. UN troops of course, but Israel never made the request.

How can the GUARDIAN say Israeli intervention was in opposition to the



REFUGEES FLEE ISRAELI TERRITORY IN JORDAN
Arab mother and child huddle among refugees near the Allenby Bridge, Jordan.

"liberation struggles" of the Arab peoples? What liberation struggles? How can U.S. support of Israel be called imperialist when the latter's real interest is Arab oil?

There are at present no active "liberation struggles" (such as we had in Al-

geria) in the GUARDIAN's area of much. But there is nevertheless an ongoing historical movement of Arab liberation from imperialism that has at great expense won independence for most of the countries of the region.

One must distinguish between the "oil kingdoms," and countries such as Egypt and Syria. The former—Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Kuwait are backward politically, allied with the oil companies and imperialism, and maintain royal establishments which suppress every effort at free popular expression and struggle. The other countries have won their limited gains for free through the development of mass movements, and reform, and improved living conditions for the people, poor and pre-industrial though they are. (For example, in Egypt the mortality rate has dropped from 36 to 16 per thousand, the average life span has increased by 10 years for men, 7 years for women. National income increased an average of 7.8% between 1959 and 1963.)

But a real breakthrough toward improvement in the lives of the Arab peoples requires that the regional wealth of the imperialists be taken by the people for the benefit of all. This has been the position of Egypt and Syria in their struggle against oil kingdoms, and against imperialism.

The ultimate intent of Israel's military action was to weaken Egypt and Syria and to eliminate Nasser and the left-wing Baath Party in Syria.

Why do you call Israel imperialist?

The GUARDIAN did not describe Israel as imperialist, if it is not. We did say the Israeli government was allied with imperialism against the Arabs. In the long struggle for Tunisia and Algerian independence, the government of Israel consistently supported the imperialist power, France. In 1958, it invaded Sinai and the Suez region at the spearhead of the military alliance of France and Britain that aimed to overthrow Nasser and keep imperialist control of the Suez canal. Recently, its closest ally has been the U.S.

Why has Nasser used the Arab refugees as pawns in his fight against Israel when they could have been absorbed in to the Arab countries?

The question is not whether refugees are used as pawns, but simply that they exist, that the human suffering is real, that Israel cannot honestly avoid responsibility for their existence, and that as long as they exist peace is impossible for Israel.

As Arabs, refugees speaking to a predominantly Jewish audience, we find Jewish understanding last September, said: "After 2,000 years, the Jews have the right to return. But it is a Palestinian law also have my apitritual life. My home was destroyed, but the tree my father planted still exists. The land he cultivated still exists, though others are working it now, not I. That is the closest tie binds me to this land which I cannot give up. Anyone believing that he can convince any Arab outside Israel that Israel wants peace but will not do anything about the refugees, is making serious mistakes. They are not ready to believe in any such peace."

Heal the scars

Why don't the Arabs make peace with Israel? If the only hope in the mideast is Arab-Jewish unity and federation, how can you oppose Israel which wants unity? Do the Arabs?

A legend has grown up to the effect that Israel, through its government, wants a cooperative relationship with the Arabs based on equality and cooperation. Many Jewish spokesmen do advocate this: The Mapam, the late Martin Buber and his followers, publications like New Outlook and Hesolam Haneh (This World), and the two Communist parties. But they are not the government.

The direction taken recently by the government is best expressed by men like Moshe Dayan, opposed as he is to absorbing more Arabs into Israel because he wants a Jewish state; by Menachem Begin who thinks in terms of a "greater Israel" expanding into neighboring territory; and Ben Gurion, who can accept Arabs into Israel as long as they accept their place as a minority in a Jewish state, as second class citizens.

From an Arab point of view which had its origins in Jewish culture, it seems to us that if goodwill and brotherhood among Middle Eastern peoples is to be restored, then the first serious move toward that end should come from the victors, from the relatively powerful, rich, and successful side of the conflict. In short, only an Israeli sense of privilege, some massive gesture no Arab could misunderstand, can heal the scars of war, eliminate tribal hatreds, and create the preconditions of peace.

**FREE DR. HOWARD LEVY, CAPT., U.S. ARMY!
DEMAND HIS IMMEDIATE RELEASE ON BAIL!**

NO MORE HIROSHIMAS!

**END THE WAR IN VIETNAM NOW!
BRING OUR BOYS HOME ALIVE!**

Join with thousands of New Yorkers to commemorate HIROSHIMA DAY, and to protest Dr. Levy's confinement. Demand his immediate release on bail pending appeal.

Saturday, August 5th

ASSEMBLE: 12 noon at Columbus Circle
WALK: down Broadway
RALLY: 2 p.m. in Bryant Park area (42nd St. and 6th Ave.)

Sponsored by: Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee
Co-Sponsored: New York Medical Committee to End the War in Vietnam
Veterans and Reservists to End the War in Vietnam
Veterans Against the War
Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam

Clip and send to: Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee
17 EAST 17 ST., N.Y., N.Y. 10003 255-1075

- ☐ I enclose \$ to support Dr. Levy.
- ☐ I want to help.
- ☐ I want more information on Dr. Levy's case and on the war in Vietnam. \$5c enclosed to cover mailing costs.

name phone
address zip

No. Korea defines socialist autonomy

By Wilfred Burchett
Guardian staff correspondent

WHERE does North Korea stand in the Peking-Moscow quarrel? There is a general belief that Kim Il Sung first sided with China, then shifted his allegiance to Moscow. This is an oversimplification.

Apart from Mongolia, North Korea is the only socialist country to have common frontiers with the Soviet Union and China. During the Japanese occupation (1910-1945), communist parties were formed first outside the country, in China's Shanghai and the Soviet Union's Far East. The Korean revolutionary movement from its birth was thus subject to influences of both yet divergent Chinese-Soviet influences, decades before these made their impact on other movements. Probably Kim Il Sung was the least surprised of all leaders within the socialist camp when the Peking-Moscow divergences started to emerge into the open.

He had himself opted for an independent line at a very early stage in his career when he decided that the partisan units he had formed among the Korean exiles in Manchuria, should be independent units aimed at freeing Korea from Japanese occupation and should not be appendages of, or integrated with, the Chinese revolutionary armies as were certain other Korean units. He also decided that his partisans should not rely on any outside support and must from the beginning be completely self-sufficient, capable of manufacturing arms, and produce their own food.

This man never read

the National Guardian.
Look what happened to
him. Subscribe today.

I enclose \$..... to help build
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the best way was to unite with Chinese Communist forces and wage a common struggle against the common enemy, the Japanese who occupied Korea and had first invaded Manchuria and then all China. But Kim Il Sung's view was that Koreans should shoulder the struggle on Korean soil.

In a speech in December, 1955, long before there was the faintest shadow of the Moscow-Peking divergences, Kim Il Sung launched the term *juuche* as the explanation of which in official translations is "abiding by the principles of solving all problems of the revolution and construction independently in accordance with the actual conditions of one's country and primarily by one's own efforts." Independent solutions of one's own problems in the revolutionary struggle.

What does *juuche* mean in the ideological work of our party? asked Kim Il Sung in his December, 1955 speech. "What are we doing? We are not engaged in the revolution of another country but in our own, Korean revolution."

He referred to an incident during the Korean war when a dispute arose as to whether the Chinese should use the term *juuche*. "Those from the Soviet Union insisted on the Soviet method and those from China the Chinese method. Thus they quarreled, some advocating the Soviet way and others approving the Chinese way. That was their nonsense. At the time the Central Committee maintained that we should learn both Soviet and Chinese methods and develop a new political work suitable for our actual conditions."

And then, he said, "When the Soviet Union and the Chinese began to advocate the Soviet way and others the Chinese, but it is not high time to work out our own Korean way?"

When I asked for the present North Korean position Kim Il Sung referred me to his speech of October, 1965 at the Korean Workers' Party Conference. In effect a restatement of *juuche*:

"To be independent is each party's sacred right which no one is allowed to violate; each party is duty bound to respect the independence of other fraternal parties. . . . There can be neither senior nor junior parties, nor a party that leads and a party that is led."

Clearly rejecting the right of either Moscow or Peking to dictate policies internationally, he commented, "Times have changed. The days are gone when the communist movement needed an international centre. After the dissolution of the 'Third International', there is no longer a pivot or centre in the international communist movement. . . . Therefore impossible that a 'centre' of the revolution should shift from one country to another. . . . Then some parties like the higher power countries would be able to give instructions and orders to other parties and the former would be compelled to obey and worship the latter."

Kim Il Sung then referred to a subject about which the Korean Workers' Party held very strongly—outside interference in various communist parties and specifically the Japanese Communist party, with which the Korean revolutionary movement has close and important relations of long date. "The interference by certain fraternal parties in the internal affairs of the Communist party of Japan is one of such instances. Even if there exist differences, fraternal parties should not back the anti-party chauvinists within another party, sow confusion in it and split the democratic movement in its country. Interference from outside has brought serious difficulties to the activities of the Communist party of Japan. . . . Our party too has had bitter experience of interference by great-power chauvinists in its internal affairs. Needless to say these great-power chauvinists were duly rebuffed."

When asked whether Peking or Moscow was involved, the reply calculatedly was the term "great-power chauvinists" in the



KIM IL SUNG
Unites theory & practice

planned. On the major question of which side North Korea backs in the ideological dispute Kim Il Sung was categorical: "As far as we are concerned we will not take any 'side'. If anyone asks us which 'side' we are on we will answer that we are on the 'side' of Marxism-Leninism, on the 'side' of the revolution. Communists should not take a prejudiced view of the activities of fraternal parties and should not be too inquisitive about them. And let there be no such practices as arbitrarily attaching various labels to the fraternal parties who maintain an independent position."

He denied that there was any contradiction between this ultra-independent stand and the principles of proletarian internationalism. "Being internationalists we categorically reject isolationism and nationalism. . . . We set store on the experience of other parties and deem it necessary to learn from each other. What we are against is the tendency to follow others blindly without independence, swallowing the experience of others at a single gulp without approaching it critically."

Views on Vietnam

An example of North Korea's independent line has been the attitude towards the Vietnam war. While expressing "revolutionist" attitudes which fostered "illusions" about the possibility of deals with the United States (Kim Il Sung refuses to accept Yugoslavian info the international communist movement) he also criticizes China's reluctance to join in a common socialist move to help Vietnam. In his October, 1966 speech he revealed that when the U.S. intervened directly in Vietnam, the Korean Workers' Party "proposed making a collective counter-attack on the aggressors." Without specifically naming China, or the Soviet Union he continued:

"Refusal to take joint action against imperialism is not the way of truly opposing imperialism. . . . nor of contributing to the strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp and the cohesion of the international communist movement. We must clearly distinguish the friend who has made an error from the foe.

The foe should be beaten, the friend who has made a mistake should be criticized so that he takes the right path."

"Even those who once took to revisionism have found it hardly possible not to support the Vietnamese people in the face of world public opinion. . . . The joint struggle against U.S. imperialism has drawn close the ties between the Leninists and revisionists. It will be clarified in actual struggle whether one's opposition to U.S. imperialism is real or sham; whether one's support of the Vietnamese people is real or sham. Practical deeds are the yardstick to measure right from wrong. . . . We must therefore, for the socialist countries, . . . to dispatch international volunteers to assist the fighting people of Vietnam."

North Korean support for Vietnam is substantial. Apart from military equipment, tractors, electric turbines for rural electrification, chemical fertilizers, cement, textiles and other consumer goods are sent in important quantities free of charge. Huge pots in every town, village, factory, urban support for Vietnam, are posted up elsewhere others urging North Korea's workers, peasants and soldiers to be ready at any moment to take up arms.

Juche in political, ideological and economic affairs is a line which eminently suits the Korean character. The Koreans are a tough, proud people. Despite the fact that their country, like Vietnam, is an appendage geographically of mainland China, and despite periods of Chinese occupation, the Koreans (again like the Vietnamese) have succeeded in preserving their own national identity, their own distinctive language, customs and culture. Typically, the North Koreans who could have imported tractors and locomotives from the Soviet Union, preferred to manufacture their own. At the tractor-making plant, the manager explained that the first tractor was made by importing a few tractors, taking it apart and after slight modifications making blue-prints of every part and after many setbacks producing a tractor suitable for the mud of Korean rice-fields.

With electric locomotives, it was almost the same story. Drawing from design and blue-prints to manufacture was an all-Korean affair in keeping with the *juuche* line in economic affairs, basing everything on native human and material resources. At the locomotive plant it was emphasized that only one of the 65,000 parts—a crankshaft bearing—had to be imported.

Stress on economic autonomy was particularly emphasized when Kim Il Sung was making his speech on economic cooperation based on specialization and distribution of economic tasks within the socialist camp. Kim Il Sung's rejection of the idea of a permanent economic co-operation relations with Moscow at that time.

Great due credit is given to the Soviet army for having liberated North Korea from the Japanese in August, 1945, and to the Chinese volunteers for having succeeded to shoulder with the North Korean army in the 1950-53 war, the tributes and just about there. Economic construction, especially in the last few years, is presented as an all-Korean achievement, a triumph for the *juuche* line.

THE GI TOLL IN VIETNAM WAR

THIS REPORT on U.S. casualties in the Vietnam war is a regular GUARDIAN feature. The figures are from military releases, with additional statistics included as announced. The first figure covers the period from Jan. 1, 1967, to July 15, 1967. The figure in parentheses shows the increase in the week July 8 to July 15, 1967.

Killed	"Non-combat" deaths	Wounded	Missing, captured
13,991 (175)	1,966	72,652 (1,642)	569

86,999

Coltrane: Late Malcolm X of jazz

By Frank Kofsky

HAD John Coltrane been born white, the chances are he would have been celebrated as one of America's greatest composer-performers.

But he was not. Coltrane was a black man and, shaped by the ghetto environment, he channeled his unbridled energies into jazz music, the most strenuous and intellectually demanding of the arts created by black Afro-American. That, of course, is why a musician presently named Aaron Copland is immediately recognized as being "educated" white person, but not one in ten has heard of Coltrane.

Coltrane died months before his forty-first birthday. That is our tragedy; Coltrane's tragedy was the denial of recognition with which he had to live. White artists with a fraction of his genius were treated as royalty. Coltrane, like most jazz musicians, was compelled to play much of his best music for bawling, half-drunk and unresponsive audiences in the dingy toilets euphemistically known as "jazz clubs."

Unmourned by left

It would be somewhat concealing to be able to report that white radicals were more receptive than their non-racialized brethren to Coltrane's message. But it would be in fact a lie. If jazz is condemned, as it is, by Establishment canons as "minor music," many radicals depart from this verdict only in changing the "minor" to "Negro." And so Coltrane died unmourned and unremembered by the Afro-American left.

There is no way to remedy with words this grotesque hole in the white radical's education. More words could never equal in verbal eloquence what Coltrane himself expressed in music. His music, especially in the late 1950s, has a sweep, magnificence, and clarity that give a glimpse of what humanity is capable of at its most creative.

Almost single-handedly, Coltrane revolutionized the improvised solo. By extending the range of the horn, the way it can be used to convey emotion, and by devising a new polyrhythmic base for the music, Coltrane made epochal innovations which have affected virtually every jazz saxophonist of consequence playing today. Though his major instrument was always the tenor saxophone, the persuasiveness of Coltrane's style on soprano, which he began playing in the early '50s, rescued that instrument from obscurity.

In 1964, this writer wrote in two columns in the *Presidential Election* of that year—Malcolm X for President, John Coltrane for Vice President. Now in the few days since his death, it occurs to me that the choice was prophetic, that there were hidden but powerful interconnections between the two men. Both perceived the ultimate reality about this country—the one that the white radicals would only ignore. Both were black and had paid their dues in the jazz club-narcotic-alcohol-mobster-infested ghetto world.

Both men, for their immense moral courage, became black targets in this desecrating milieu. Both sought to use the lessons they had learned there to show good, honest, intelligent, and peaceful



Photo by Rayfield Rose

JOHN COLTRANE TUNES IN WITH SOPRANO SAX

that, is exhorted to make maximum use of our human potentialities. In this score, see the interview with Coltrane to be published in the September 1967 issue of *Context*.

Neither Malcolm nor Coltrane was ever content with a sterile description of reality. Both continually brought their most treasured concepts, assumptions, and definitions under relentless scrutiny. When these proved inadequate or outmoded, so much the worse for them; once their shortcomings became apparent, they were unconsciously discarded, like yesterday's papers.

Such was the competitive honesty of these two giants, the total dedication to human progress, that neither could

make figures they were and won for them their own. Above all, young people, black and white alike. Though cut down in the prime of life with their work far from finished and their last years perhaps still in front of them, it is surely safe to say that their influence is just beginning to be felt.

Coltrane was convinced that if he could reveal the essence of himself to his listeners, they would be moved to the same, thus developing their creative faculties to the fullest extent. He therefore required absolute and total honesty of himself at all times. If we are to learn from the example he set us, I do not see how we can do less than try to be as sharp-edged as all orthodoxies and dogmas are dull and unexciting. As he said, "I wish I could see all the people who are not living."

Black power debate

(Continued from Page 1)

reformed a well-dressed man. "Co-op just means one form of bureaucracy with another. The black community should get behind those black people who have made it in the economy."

"The capitalist system hasn't worked for us in the 400 years we've been under it," answered a young delegate wearing a cap and dark glasses. "Capitalism is the most successful system of enforced exploitation in the world. I agree. It's the latest model of slavery."

The youth workshop debate was resolved in favor of a boycott of white-owned businesses and a "buy black" campaign. The question of economic co-operatives in black communities also came up in other workshops. A pro co-op resolution was passed in the plenary session, though several delegates expressed doubts privately as to whether black-controlled co-operatives could seriously attack the economic dispossession of black people in a white-dominated capitalist economy.

A workshop on "Cooperation and Alliances" rejected alliances with the white power structure but agreed on little else. "At this historic moment any struggles in the black areas of this land [money] to the African-American community. In fact," declared one workshop member, "another divided socialism and a third made that a threat for reformists to educate black people to the defects in the system. A brief summary of the workshop's conclusions prepared by a militant delegate and read at the plenary session called for alliances with "those forces in various stage conflict" with the status quo; it was not voted upon because moderate members of the workshop rejected the summary statement as "unrealistic."

The black power conference grew out of Adam Clayton Powell's call last year for a meeting of the Student Nonviolent Urban Work of the Rastafarian Disease Network, succeeded finally as Plains Com-

mittee chairman and organizer of the annual Black People's Festival, deplores the "painful exercises" in the "current call to the banners of black power." In his new book, *Black Power and Urban Unrest*, published a few days before the conference, Wright stated, "Black Power in terms of self-development means that we want to live as all Americans should do together in the main stream of American life."

Other delegates voted suspicion about the purpose of the conference. Several termed it an "exercise" to round up support for Powell. Others feared that an alliance of moderate leaders in the conference was trying to win control of the black power movement. One delegate jokingly commented that more alliances were being forged in the corridors of the conference than were being discussed in the workshop on alliances.

The meeting was described by Wright in the opening session as a "study conference where we can think about issues in terms of empowerment." But even this description was not accepted by all. "Was this to be just another conference just to allow the brothers to blow off steam?" asked one delegate. "The delegates were Floyd McKissick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality; H. Rap Brown, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Rev. Jesse Jackson of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and representatives of the

To blow off steam?

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National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other groups. Although the conference passed a resolution supporting Powell, angry delegates at first refused to let Powell's son deliver a message from the deceased congressman. "Let Powell come and speak!" yelled a man who was upset that Powell has not shown up to appear at the meeting. After more sternly begged, during which several delegates walked out, the younger Powell was finally allowed to speak. He was booed as he alleged that Powell's income tax returns were being investigated and that Powell might be arrested "as he stepped off the plane in Miami." If he returned to the U.S. Angry delegates responded that Powell was "finished" because he did not attend the conference.

A surprise resolution was introduced at the opening session which called for the conference to "strongly endorse the black revolution in all its glorious manifestations," including ghetto revolt. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 10-2.

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The conference also adopted a string of resolutions calling for a variety of black-controlled economic, educational, and cultural institutions, such as a national annual income, "dominance of the black male in home and society," support for the black people of Newark, and a World Federation of African Peoples. Resolutions were passed demanding that the federal government set up a special fund for "business development" in black communities and that black churches support "the black revolution."

The conference adopted a manifesto calling for the organization of a National Black Congress, regional black power conferences and a Second Annual National Conference on Black Power. Several delegates objected during the final session that implementation had not been discussed. The chairman ruled them out of order. Those delegates probably would have agreed with a speaker who remarked during the conference that "revolution is not resolutions."

'Anti-Carmichael' bill passes House

By a vote of 347 to 10 the House passed a bill July 19 making it a federal crime to cross state lines or to use interstate facilities (including telephone and the mails) to incite a riot. Punishment for conviction would be a \$10,000 fine or up to five years in jail, or both.

The measure is called the "anti-Carmichael" bill by those who feel it is primarily directed against the former chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Stokely Carmichael. One of those who voted against the bill, Paul Thompson Jr. (D-N.Y.) said "it's a bill of attorney aimed at one man"—Carmichael.

William C. Cramer (R-Ill.), main writer of the bill, has admitted it was drafted with Carmichael in mind. But he said it also would apply to whites who go from state to state stirring up violence.

The bill originally had been combined with one which would strengthen protection of Negroes and civil rights leaders extending their constitutional rights. William M. Colmer (D-Miss.), chairman of the Rules Committee, pushed to bring the anti-riot section to the House floor as a separate bill.

House Judiciary committee chairman Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) yielded. But he gave an emotional speech in casting a negative vote against the bill which he said "will not ally his (the Negro's) anger and frustrations. Instead, it will arouse his anger and frustration more deeply. His leaders ask for better housing. You offer them jails. His leaders ask for better education. You read them a riot act. They ask for more employment. You give jobs in prison camps."

Acceptance of the bill by the Senate is not so certain. Last year, the Senate passed anti-riot bill 349 to 25, but then it was tacked on to the Administration's omnibus civil rights bill which the Senate later defeated.



PHILIP HUTCHINGS

BETTY MOSS



JESSE ALLEN

Newark ghetto

(Continued from Page 1)

In 1964 by Tom Hayden of the Students for a Democratic Society. (In the middle of the revolution, Hayden, still in Newark, began the compilation of depictions alleging police brutality.) James Wright LeRoi Jones opened his Spirit House theatre in the midst of the ghetto and organized a neighborhood group. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee chose Newark as one of two Northern cities in which it would work.

While other cities erupted in 1968, Newark was relatively quiet. Activist Leroy Hush recalls, "we have been fighting our oppression with every means legally available." Confrontations with the archaic city political system and the federal government ended in virtually every case with riots rebuffed in the ghetto. Finally, Hush continued, "we had no other alternative. This has been known

have been oppressed as long, they have to use some avenue of escape."

SNCC's program—and that of the Black Liberation Center with which it worked—was black power and, as SNCC's state project director Philip Hutchings says, "especially to get people to think black."

Hutchings adds, "We think that a real change has come over Newark this last year that has made this rebellion one of liberation. This could not have

happened a year ago."

"We will try to bring this city to its knees," Hutchings said, "and if black people do not get their own black leaders no one will run this city."

LeRoi Jones echoes this assessment. At a July 22 press conference in the converted ground floor of a ghetto home which has been made into Spirit House, Jones said, "Again and again . . . we have sought to proceed through the reference of progressive humanism . . . again and again our plaints have been denied by an unfeeling, ignorant, graft-ridden, racist government." Now, he added, "We will govern ourselves, or no one will govern Newark, N.J."

In recent months, the Welfare Mothers committee of the People's Action Group picketed, boycotted and finally

shut down "Kam Southern Store Up North," which sold chitterlings as well as chopped meat. The mothers' targets were pricing and credit practices that antagonized everyone in the area. One of 19 (including Hayden and other NCUP activists) arrested on the nonviolent picket line, FAG chairman Allen recalls that a police officer told him, "You all just don't have any respect for the police and we're just waiting for the word so we can go out and kill you all and get it over with."



GUARDIAN Photos by William A. Price
A NEWARK MOTHER CHARGES COPS "BRUTALLY MURDERED" HER SON
He was shot, she said, protecting three Negro children



MORTUARY PHOTO OF JAMES RUTLEDGE, THE SON, SHOWS WOUNDS
Said LeRoi Jones: 39 bullet holes proved "an act past murder"

When the ghetto exploded—as Jones says—the city and state police and the National Guard responded with "fanaticism and violence bordering on madness."

A witness told the GUARDIAN, "I've seen and witnessed police shooting into crowds with no discretion. Just brutally, shooting into crowds that were running away. They were running. And be-

cause they ran, they were shot at." Hush adds, "They didn't do it individually, they did it massively."

David Crooms, a free-lance photographer whose two cameras were smashed by police, said, "It was the suppression of the rebellion that brought about the extreme militancy that is in the area now. And this will not let down."

That's where Newark's at today.



Playwright
LeRoi Jones
charges police
with "insolence
bordering on
madness"
in Newark.
(Center to r.)
Jones; Rap
Brown,
SNCC; Floyd
McKinnick,
CORE.

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